

The Florida Historical Quarterly

Published by the Florida Historical Society

Connie L. Lester, *Editor*

Daniel S. Murphree, *Assistant Editor and Book Review Editor*

Robert Cassanello, *Podcast Editor*

Scot French, *Digital Editor*

Sponsored by the University of Central Florida

Board of Editors

Jack Davis, University of Florida

James M. Denham, Florida Southern College

Andrew Frank, Florida State University

Elna C. Green, San Jose State University

Steven Noll, University of Florida

Raymond A. Mohl, University of Alabama, Birmingham

Paul Ortiz, University of Florida

Brian Rucker, Pensacola State College

John David Smith, University of North Carolina, Charlotte

Melanie Shell-Weiss, Grand Valley University

Brent Weisman, University of South Florida

Irvin D.S. Winsboro, Florida Gulf Coast University

The *Florida Historical Quarterly* (ISSN 0015-4113) is published quarterly by the Florida Historical Society, 435 Brevard Avenue, Cocoa, FL 32922 in cooperation with the Department of History, University of Central Florida, Orlando. Printed by The Sheridan Press, Hanover, PA. Periodicals postage paid at Cocoa, FL and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Florida Historical Society, 435 Brevard Ave., Cocoa, FL 32922.

Subscription accompanies membership in the Society. Annual membership is \$50; student membership (with proof of status) is \$30; family membership in \$75; library and institution membership is \$75; a contributing membership is \$200 and higher; and a corporate membership is \$500 and higher. Correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions, as well as orders for back copies of the *Quarterly*, should be addressed to Dr. Ben D. Brotemarkle, Executive Director, Florida Historical Society, 435 Brevard Ave., Cocoa, FL 32922; (321) 690-1971; email: (Ben.Brotemarkle@myfloridahistory.org.)

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to Editor, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Dept. of History, CNH 551, Univ. of Central Florida, Orlando, FL 32816-1350; (407) 823-0261; fax: (407) 823-3184; email: (flhisqtr@ucf.edu) or (Connie.Lester@ucf.edu.) Manuscripts should be submitted online as an MS Word document. Guidelines for preparing manuscripts are available in the End Notes and at (<http://history.cah.ucf.edu/flhq/submissions.php>.) The *Quarterly* is a member of the Conference of Historical Journals. The Florida Historical Society and the editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* disclaim responsibility for statements whether of fact or opinion made by contributors.

THE

FLORIDA

Winter 2014

HISTORICAL QUARTERLY Vol. 92, No. 3

Special Issue Introduction by the *FHQ* editors

by Connie L. Lester and Daniel Murphree 467

The Historiography of Seventeenth-Century

La Florida

by Jane Landers 470

The Geopolitics of Seventeenth-Century Florida

by Jane Landers 480

The Historical Archaeology of Seventeenth-Century

La Florida

by Bonnie G. McEwan 491

“These people are not conquered like those of New Spain”: Florida’s Reciprocal Colonial Compact

by Amy Turner Bushnell 524

St. Augustine in the Seventeenth Century: Capital of La Florida

by Susan Richbourg Parker 554

Pirate, Priest, and Slave: Spanish Florida in the 1668 Searles Raid

by Diana Reigelsperger 577

Colonialism on the Spanish Florida Frontier: Mission San Luis, 1656-1704

by Bonnie G. McEwan 591

Book Reviews 626

End Notes 652

Book Reviews

- Jennings, *New Worlds of Violence: Cultures and Conquests in the Early American Southeast.*
by David A. Nichols 626
- Frank and Kilbride, eds, *Southern Character: Essays in Honor of Bertram Wyatt-Brown.*
by Adam Tate 629
- Carey, *Sold Down the River: Slavery in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley of Alabama and Georgia.*
by Lauren K. Thompson 631
- Bush, *I Fear I Shall Never Leave This Island: Life in a Civil War Prison.*
by Steven J. Ramold. 634
- Barnes, ed., *The Materiality of Freedom: Archaeologies of Postemancipation Life.*
by Stacy Pratt McDermott 635
- Way, *Conerving Southern Longleaf: Herbert Stoddard and the Rise of Ecological Land Management.*
by Tom Okie 638
- Hollars, *Thirteen Loops: Race, Violence, and the Last Lynching in America.*
by Lee Sartain 640
- Gellman and Roll, *The Gospel of the Working Class: Labor's Southern Prophets in New Deal America.*
by Chad Pearson 642
- White, *The Challenge of Blackness: The Institute of the Black World and Political Activism in the 1970s.*
by Aram Goudsouzian. 645

- Graham and Monteith, eds., *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture. Volume 18: Media.*
by Sean McMahon 647
- Wickman, *Warriors Without Wars: Seminole Leadership in the Late Twentieth Century.*
by Harry A. Kersey, Jr. 649

Cover Illustration: Insulae Americanae in Oceano Septentrionali ac regions adiacentes, 1680 by Nicolaes Visscher, 1649-1702. Image courtesy of State Archives of Florida, *Florida Memory*, <http://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/143886>

Copyright 2014 by the Florida Historical Society, Cocoa, Fla.

Historiography of Seventeenth-Century La Florida

by Jane Landers

The historiography of seventeenth-century La Florida (which Spain claimed reached from the Florida Keys north to Newfoundland and west to “the mines of Mexico”) is, like the Spanish empire itself, less rich than its sixteenth-century counterpart. This is primarily because the declension narrative for this period lacks the drama of the early explorations and the martyrdoms of devoted missionaries which were the focus of much of the sixteenth-century literature. Most scholars trained in colonial Latin American history, as I was, focused not on Florida, but rather on sites deemed more important: the great indigenous empires and Spanish conquests of New Spain (Mexico) and Peru. As a graduate student at the University of Florida, I was warned that to work on Florida would lead to being “typecast as a local historian.” Fortunately, I disregarded this advice and followed in the daunting footsteps of noted historians such as Michael V. Gannon, Eugene Lyon, Paul E. Hoffman, Amy Turner Bushnell and John H. Hann and archaeologists such as Kathleen A. Deagan and Jerald T. Milanich, all role models for exacting and collaborative research.

Jane Landers is The Gertrude Conaway Vanderbilt Professor of History at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee. She is the author, editor, or co-editor of seven books, including *Atlantic Crocles in the Age of Revolutions* (2010) and *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (1999, 2001, 2002, 2005). She is President of the Conference on Latin American Studies.

[470]

Florida as a Spanish Borderland

Other factors contributing to this general scholarly inattention to Florida might be that relatively few scholars were trained in early Spanish paleography and Florida was not considered part of either the traditional fields of North American or Latin American history. At best, Florida was discussed as a lesser borderland. The father of the Borderlands School, Herbert Eugene Bolton, of the University of California, Berkeley, argued in the early twentieth century that the Americas had a common history and that historians of the United States needed to include the Spanish colonial experience, not just the Anglo, in their narratives. Using and translating Spanish archival materials, he focused primarily on the history of the mission and presidio systems of the American Southwest, particularly Texas, Louisiana, and California. But Bolton also showed interest in the Spanish Southeast. In 1921 he published *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* and in 1925 Bolton and co-author Mary Ross published *The Debatable Land: A Sketch of the Anglo-Spanish Contest for the Georgia Country*. These works covered imperial competition over the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries in what was once La Florida.¹ Four years later, Verner W. Crane’s classic *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (1929) covered the same swath of time and focused on Greater Florida in archival detail, albeit from British colonial records. Crane also extended his study to French Louisiana and his work was notable for its early attention to the economic and political interests of diverse indigenous groups in this debated southern frontier.² J. Leitch Wright’s *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in North America* (1971) also covered imperial disputes and the consequences for Greater Florida and was notable for its deep research in Spanish, British, Mexican and U.S. archives.³ A much more recent work, though written from the same imperial perspective, is Timothy Paul Grady’s *Anglo-Spanish*

-
- 1 Herbert Eugene Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921); Herbert Eugene Bolton and Mary J. Ross, *The Debatable Land: A Sketch of the Anglo-Spanish Contest for the Georgia Country* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1968). A generation of Bolton students went on to produce a number of important Southwestern borderlands histories based in Spanish archival sources.
 - 2 Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (1929); 2nd ed. with preface by Peter H. Wood (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1981).
 - 3 J. Leitch Wright, *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in North America* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1971).

Rivalry in Colonial South-East America, 1650-1725.⁴ An older work that covers imperial competition for Pensacola for the period is Lawrence Carroll Ford's *The Triangular Struggle for Spanish Pensacola, 1689-1739*, which is now online.⁵ Other works covering Pensacola in this period include Judith Ann Bense, *Archaeology of Colonial Pensacola* (1999) and her edited collection *Presidio Santa María de Galve* (2003).⁶ John J. Clune and Margo S. Stringfield's *Historic Pensacola*, published in commemoration of the 450th anniversary of Pensacola's original founding, briefly covers the seventeenth-century history and archaeology of the site.⁷

The Quincentenary of the so-called "Discovery" of the Americas, in 1992, generated a wide range of new scholarship, museum exhibits, and archaeological investigations on the Spanish borderlands, including Florida, and while most focused on the first contacts and the sixteenth century, some extended coverage into the seventeenth century. This wave of scholarship turned from great explorers to the original inhabitants of the lands "discovered." This shift responded, in part, to the protest against the Quincentenary celebrations by the American Indian Movement, the First Nations of Canada and other indigenous activists. In this vein, archaeologist David Hurst Thomas edited a three volume series for the Smithsonian Institution Press titled *Columbian Consequence*, the second volume of which *Columbian Consequences: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East* (1990), focused on Florida and the Southeast.⁸ Just in time for the Quincentenary commemorations, David J. Weber published a synthetic account that for the first time fully connected

the Southwestern and Southeastern borderlands in *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (1992).⁹

A decade after the Quincentenary Paul E. Hoffman combined his own deep archival research with an impressive synthesis of the most scholarly works on Greater Florida and the Southeastern borderlands in *Florida's Frontiers* (2002). Hoffman covered the seventeenth century in three packed chapters.¹⁰ Others who examined the economics of imperial contests in the Southeast with some discussion of the impact on seventeenth-century Florida Indians include Alan Galloway's *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (2002) and Joseph M. Hall, Jr.'s *Zamuno's Gifts: Indian-European Exchange in the Colonial Southeast* (2009).¹¹ Robert C. Galgano also updated comparative borderlands mission studies in *Feast of Souls: Indians and Spaniards in the Seventeenth-Century Missions of Florida and New Mexico* (2005).¹²

Institutional Histories of Seventeenth-Century La Florida Catholic Church History

Like the Southwestern borderlands historians, early scholars of Florida focused on key institutions such as the church and the military. In this vein Maynard Geiger produced *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida (1573-1618)* (1937) and *Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans in Spanish Florida and Cuba, 1528-1841* (1940) and Michael V. Gannon produced the classic church history, *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870*

4 Timothy Paul Grady, *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in Colonial South-East America, 1650-1725* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2010).

5 Lawrence Carroll Ford, *The Triangular Struggle for Spanish Pensacola, 1689-1739*, (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1939) also online at <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/?b=UF00055630&v=00001/>.

6 Judith Ann Bense, *Archaeology of Colonial Pensacola* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999) and Judith Ann Bense, ed., *Presidio Santa María de Galve* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003).

7 John J. Clune and Margo S. Stringfield's *Historic Pensacola* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009).

8 David Hurst Thomas, ed., *Columbian Consequences: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990).

9 David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

10 Paul E. Hoffman, *Florida's Frontiers* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002).

11 Alan Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Joseph M. Hall, Jr., *Zamuno's Gifts: Indian-European Exchange in the Colonial Southeast* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

12 Robert C. Galgano, *Feast of Souls: Indians and Spaniards in the Seventeenth-Century Missions of Florida and New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005). A collection of papers from an international Franciscan conference held in St. Augustine in 2011, "From La Florida to La California: the Genesis and Realization of Franciscan Evangelization in the Spanish Borderlands," is currently being edited by Timothy Johnson and proves that comparative Spanish Borderlands remain of interest.

(1965).¹³ More than thirty-five years later, Robert Kapitzke examined how religion and conflicts between secular and regular clergy (and family feuds) shaped politics in seventeenth-century St. Augustine in *Religion, Power, and Politics in Colonial St. Augustine* (2001).¹⁴ New research on the Catholic Church in Spanish Florida will now be easier since the Diocese of St. Augustine supported the digitalization of the its parish records which are the oldest in the nation and begin in 1595. These unique records will soon be electronically available through the Ecclesiastical and Secular Sources for Slave Societies digital archive at Vanderbilt University at <http://www.vanderbilt.edu/esss/index.php>.

Military History

The largest existing Spanish colonial structure in the Southeast, St. Augustine's Castillo de San Marcos, was begun in 1672 contemporary with many of its Caribbean counterparts in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Colombia, and Panama. This great coquina masterpiece became a National Monument, as did the smaller and newer Fort Matanzas. Those structures and remnants of some still visible defensive lines naturally attracted attention from military historians such as Verne E. Chatelain who wrote *The Defenses of Spanish Florida, 1565-1763* (1940).¹⁵ Working in a variety of archival sources, military historian Luis Rafael Arana later produced a large number of archival reports on the military history of Florida and of the Castillo for the National Park Service, the Florida National Guard and other public history entities, upon which other historians relied heavily. With architectural historian Albert Manucy, Arana wrote *The Building of the Castillo de San Marcos* (1977) and in 1999 *El Escribano: The St. Augustine Journal of History* published a special issue titled "Defense and Defenders at St. Augustine" devoted to

- 13 Maynard Geiger, *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida, 1573-1618* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1937) and *Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans in Spanish Florida and Cuba, 1528-1841* (Paterson, NJ: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1940); Michael V. Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870*, (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1965).
 14 Robert L. Kapitzke, *Religion, Power, and Politics in Colonial St. Augustine* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001).
 15 Verne E. Chatelaine, *The Defenses of Spanish Florida, 1565-1763* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1941).

Arana's many important essays.¹⁶ Manucy earlier wrote the popular survey *The Houses of St. Augustine: Notes on the Architecture from 1565-1821*.¹⁷

Economic History

While Eugene Lyon and Paul Hoffman's work concentrated on the explorations and earliest settlements of La Florida in the sixteenth century, they also paid close attention to the financing of the Florida enterprise and to Caribbean defense in general.¹⁸ Amy Turner Bushnell's early work on seventeenth-century Florida also focused on economics, adding a social dimension to her work. Her article in this journal entitled, "The Menéndez Marquez Cattle Barony at La Chua and the Determinants of Economic Expansion in Seventeenth-Century Florida" (1978) explored the development of cattle ranches in Florida's interior and her subsequent monograph followed the same family as royal treasurers of Florida in *The King's Coffers: Proprietors of the Spanish Florida Treasury, 1565-1702* (1981).¹⁹ Engle Sluiter gathered quantitative data from the Archivo General de Indias for Spain's annual government payroll for Florida in *The Florida Situado: Quantifying the First Eighty Years, 1513-1651* (1985), which other scholars can analyze.²⁰

Ethnohistorical Works on Seventeenth-Century La Florida

Florida's rich and diverse Indian history has always attracted scholarly attention, but much of it focused on pre-historical and contact groups of the sixteenth century. As Charles M. Hudson and

- 16 "Defenses and Defenders at St. Augustine," *El Escribano: the St. Augustine Journal of History*, 36 (St. Augustine: The St. Augustine Historical Society, 1999).
 17 Albert C. Manucy, *The Houses of St. Augustine* (St. Augustine: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1962. Reprint, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992).
 18 Eugene Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest, 1565-1568* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1974); Paul E. Hoffman, *The Spanish Crown and the Defense of the Indies: Precedent, Patrimonialism and Royal Patrimony* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980).
 19 Amy Turner Bushnell, "The Menéndez Marquez Cattle Barony at La Chua and the Determinants of Economic Expansion in Seventeenth-Century Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 56 (1978): 263-284; *The King's Coffers: Proprietors of the Spanish Florida Treasury, 1565-1702* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1981).
 20 Engel Sluiter, *The Florida Situado: Quantifying the First Eighty Years, 1513-1651* (Research Publications of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Series no. 1. Gainesville: University of Florida Libraries, 1985).

Carmen Chaves Tesser's aptly titled book *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704* (1994) reminds, the seventeenth century remained relatively unexplored.²¹ One important and rare primary source for the period in English is *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal*, by a Quaker slave trader wrecked on the Florida coast in 1696 and enslaved by the Florida Indians.²² An equally rare social history of seventeenth century St. Augustine is Susan R. Parker's unpublished dissertation, "The Second Century of Settlement in Spanish St. Augustine, 1670-1763" (1999).²³ Drawing on her deep knowledge of Spanish archival sources and the unequalled archaeological research for St. Augustine, Parker includes fascinating accounts of the city's urban Indians, architecture, food, material culture, finance and Catholic Church confraternities.

Much of the ethnohistorical scholarship produced on the seventeenth century derives from the decades-old union of history and archaeology in Florida, and much of it is written by scholars trained at the University of Florida (Gannon, Lyon, Hoffman, Deagan, Bushnell, Milanich, McEwan, Landers, Parker and Worth). Just as Eugene Lyon and Paul E. Hoffman's archival discoveries helped guide archaeological research on sixteenth-century Florida, the multi-lingual and exacting archival research of Bushnell, Hann, Parker, and Worth helped advance path-breaking archaeological investigations on seventeenth-century Florida. Bushnell's monograph, *Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida* (1994) grew out of the archaeological investigations of Mission Santa Catalina de Guale, directed by David Hurst Thomas on Saint Catherine's Island. In it she examined "the mixed support system by which Spain maintained an economically unprofitable but strategic presidial colony."²⁴ Worth conducted

21 Charles M. Hudson and Carmen Chaves Tesser, eds., *The Forgotten Centuries: Indians and Europeans in the American South, 1521-1704* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1994).

22 *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal, or God's Protecting Providence, Being the Narrative of a Journey from Port Royal in Jamaica to Philadelphia, August 23, 1696 to April 1, 1697*, ed. Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles McLean Andrews (Port Salerno, FL: Florida Classics Library, 1945); reprint (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).

23 Susan R. Parker, "The Second Century of Settlement in Spanish St. Augustine, 1670-1763" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1999).

24 Amy Turner Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida* (New York: Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, num. 74, distributed by the University of Georgia Press, 1994), 15. This work is now also available online at <http://digitalibrary.amnh.org/dspace/handle/2246/269>.

extensive archival research to produce a two volume set based on his dissertation entitled *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Vol. 1 Assimilation and Vol. 2 Resistance and Destruction* (1998).²⁵ Milanich also covered this group in the seventeenth century in *The Timucua* (1999) and in *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord: Spanish Missions and the Southeastern Indians* (1999).²⁶ My own work on seventeenth and eighteenth-century Africans and their descendants in Florida, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (1999), also benefited from the mentorship of Gannon, Lyon, Hoffman, Bushnell and Deagan and helped support archaeological research at Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, the first free black settlement in what is today the United States, as well as the development of a museum exhibit on that site.²⁷

A number of the historians mentioned above also produced a large corpus of translated and annotated Spanish documents of the period. Worth's important documentary collection gathered in the Archivo General de Indias, *The Struggle for the Georgia Coast: An Eighteenth-Century Retrospective on Guale and Mocama* (1995), in fact, is almost entirely devoted to seventeenth-century materials.²⁸ Robert Matter compiled a variety of seventeenth-century documents in *Pre-Seminole Florida: Spanish Soldiers, Friars, and Indian Missions, 1513-1763* (1990).²⁹ Anthropologists Jerald T. Milanich and William C. Sturtevant translated and annotated *Francisco Pareja's 1613 Confessionario: A Documentary Source for Timucuan Ethnography* (1972).³⁰ Historian John H. Hann focused on seventeenth-century missionary and military accounts to produce an impressive group of monographs on the ethnohistory of various indigenous groups

25 John E. Worth, *The Timucuan Chiefdoms of Spanish Florida, Vol. 1 Assimilation and Vol. 2 Resistance and Destruction* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998).

26 Jerald T. Milanich, *The Timucua* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1996); *Laboring in the Fields of the Lord: Spanish Missions and the Southeastern Indians* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999).

27 Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999); The catalogue exhibit is Kathleen A. Deagan and Darcie A. MacMahon, *Fort Mose: Colonial America's Black Fortress of Freedom* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995).

28 John E. Worth, *The Struggle for the Georgia Coast: An Eighteenth-Century Retrospective on Guale and Mocama* (New York: Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, num. 75 May, 1995).

29 Robert Matter, *Pre-Seminole Florida: Spanish Soldiers, Friars, and Indian Missions, 1513-1763* (New York: Garland Publishers, 1990).

30 Jerald T. Milanich and William C. Sturtevant, ed. *Francisco Pareja's 1613 Confessionario: A Documentary Source for Timucuan Ethnography* (Tallahassee: Florida Department of State, 1972).

in Florida. Among them are *Apalachee: The Land between the Rivers* (1988), *Missions to the Calusa* (1991), which is an extremely important collection of archival materials on the seventeenth-century, *A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions* (1996), *An Early Florida Adventure Story* (1998), *Indians of Central and South Florida, 1513-1763* (2003) and *The Native American World beyond Apalachee: West Florida and the Chattahoochee Valley* (2006).³¹ Much of Hahn's research supported the archaeology of the Mission San Luis de Talimali, discussed by Bonnie McEwan in this special issue. McEwan and Hann also co-authored *The Apalachee Indians and Mission San Luis* (1998).³² McEwan edited two other volumes of historical archaeology which include essays on seventeenth-century Florida, *The Spanish Missions of La Florida* (1993) and *Indians of the Greater Southeast* (2000).³³ Hann's voluminous research notes and papers are being prepared for donation to the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the George A. Smathers Library of the University of Florida.

The P. K. Yonge Library already holds a number of important microfilm collections of interest to historians of seventeenth-century Florida, including the Florida Legajos Collection, the Joseph Byrne Lockey Documents, the John E. Worth Collection and the Matt D. Childs Collections of materials copied in the Archivo General de Indias. The Smathers Library also holds the Herschel E. Shepard Digital Collection of over 800 architectural drawings, photos and documents related to Shepard's dedicated research on Florida projects, including the Mission San Luis.³⁴ In process is a major effort funded by the National Endowment for

31 John H. Hann, *Apalachee: The Land between the Rivers* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1988); *Missions to the Calusa* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1991); *A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996); *An Early Florida Adventure Story* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001); *Indians of Central and South Florida, 1513-1763* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003); *The Native American World beyond Apalachee: West Florida and the Chattahoochee Valley* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006).

32 John H. Hann and Bonnie G. McEwan, *The Apalachee Indians and Mission San Luis* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998).

33 Bonnie G. McEwan, *The Spanish Missions of La Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993); *Indians of the Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003).

34 The Herschel E. Shepard Digital Collection, University of Florida Digital Collections, George Smathers Library, University of Florida. <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/shepard>

the Humanities to digitalize all the archaeological reports, maps, drawings and other materials generated by the last decades of archaeological excavations in St. Augustine.

Resources for Seventeenth-Century Florida

I would refer readers to the special issue on the sixteenth century for Paul E. Hoffman's review of existing bibliographic guides and databases for Greater Florida, which I will not repeat here. As a supplement to that thorough coverage, I would offer James H. O'Donnell, *Southeastern Frontiers: Europeans, Africans, and American Indians, 1513-1840: A Critical Bibliography* (1982) and Lawrence A. Clayton's *The Hispanic Experience in North America: Sources for Study in the United States* (1992).³⁵ Primary documents for seventeenth-century Florida can be accessed online and include *Documentos Históricos de la Florida y la Luisiana, siglos XVI al XVIII*, edited by Manuel Serrano y Sanz (1912) available at <http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/book/lookupid?key=ha001264065> and the materials in the Portal de Archivos Españoles (PARES) also online at <http://pares.mcu.es/>.

The essays in this special issue also contain detailed discussions of the relevant historiography for their topics and footnotes to track for further research. Finally, Michael V. Gannon has just re-edited a new edition of *The New History of Florida* (2013) that includes chapters on seventeenth-century Florida by John Hann (on Florida's missions), William S. Coker (on Pensacola), Amy Turner Bushnell (on Florida's diminishing Indian populations) and Daniel L. Schafer (on the effects of international wars and English raids).³⁶

35 James H. O'Donnell, *Southeastern Frontiers: Europeans, Africans, and American Indians, 1513-1840: A Critical Bibliography* (Newberry Library: Indiana University Press, 1982); Lawrence A. Clayton, *The Hispanic Experience in North America: Sources for Study in the United States* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999).

36 Michael V. Gannon, ed., *The New History of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida 1996, 2013).

The Geopolitics of Seventeenth-Century Florida

by Jane Landers

Scholars have dubbed the seventeenth century Spain's "Century of Depression."¹ European wars and a cycle of disastrous droughts and epidemics (1597-1602, 1640s and 1680s) followed by famines severely strained Spain's financial and administrative resources. The general crisis was exacerbated by declines in American silver revenues caused by the demographic collapse of the native labor pools in New Spain and Peru. These multiple disasters combined to bring low the once glorious Spanish empire. After a series of bankruptcies Spain resorted to devaluing its currency. To prop up the enfeebled state, it impounded private silver, refused to pay debts, and finally was forced to pay usurious interest on foreign loans. In desperation the Crown also increased taxation on the already miserable peasants, triggering a mass migration from the countryside to ever-more crowded Spanish cities. Sensing their moment, peripheral regions such as Catalonia, the Basque

Provinces, Portugal, Sicily and Naples made a bid for autonomy.² When the last Spanish Hapsburg king, Charles II (nicknamed the Bewitched for his mental and physical deficiencies), died without an heir in 1700, Spain's Minister of the Indies, Jose de Gálvez, noted "Spain was hardly less defunct than its dead master."³ Gálvez was not alone in his assessment. Domestic critics, or *arbitristas*, decried Spain's endless and embarrassing problems and their writings added to a sense of general disillusionment. Cervantes wrote *Don Quixote* in this spirit.⁴ Many of the desperate Spanish poor sailed for the Americas, imagining that they would improve their fortunes in the New World, but sadly, as the essays in this volume demonstrate, Spain's problems were mirrored in its colonies, including Spanish Florida.

As the various essays in this Special Issue illustrate, Spanish Florida was a colony besieged—not only by inadequate metropolitan support, but by indigenous revolts, French, English and Dutch piracy and, finally, by English military aggression and territorial encroachment. Add to that list plagues, fires, and hurricanes and it is a wonder the colony survived at all.

During the seventeenth-century, Franciscan friars established a chain of missions stretching along La Florida's Atlantic coast and westward across the panhandle where they congregated their charges into mission villages for religious instruction and more efficient collection of tribute and labor. Amy Bushnell's essay in this Special Issue describes the labor draft, or *repartimiento*, that rotated hundreds of "Christianized" Guales, Timucuan and Apalachees into St. Augustine to work. The result was catastrophic. Between 1613 and 1617 a series of "pests and contagions" devastated the

Jane Landers is The Gertrude Conaway Vanderbilt Professor of History at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee. She is the author, co-author, editor or co-editor of seven books, including *Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolutions* (2010) and *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (1999, 2001, 2002, 2005). She is the President of the Conference on Latin American Studies.

1 Fernand Braudel describes the calamities Spain experienced as part of a general Mediterranean cycle in *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976).

2 For a general overview of the seventeenth-century crises in Spain, see J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716* (London: Penguin Books, 2002), ch. 8-10; and John Lynch, *Spain under the Hapsburgs*, 2nd Ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

3 A. Goodwin, ed., *The New Cambridge Modern History: The American and French Revolutions, 1763-93*, vol. 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 397.

4 J. H. Elliott, "Self-Perception and Decline in Early Seventeenth-Century Spain," *Past and Present* 74 (1977):41-61; and Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, 299.

native peoples of Florida and survivors were subjected to ever increasing work demands.⁵

The "pests and contagions" of those years also affected St. Augustine's black population. Treasury official Miguel Ybarra reported in 1603 that only thirty-two royal slaves lived in St. Augustine, five of whom were women, and seven of whom were described as advanced in years. Ybarra wrote that it was in the community's interest to preserve these valuable workers and, "I see to it that they are well treated in the matter of food and clothing and when they fall sick they are taken to the hospital and cared for as the most valuable soldier." Ybarra promised to maintain this level of care and must have done so for by 1606 there were 100 black slaves in Florida, including forty belonging to the Crown.⁶ But the "pests and contagions" in the next decade took their toll and by 1618 there were only eleven aged and infirm slaves left in St. Augustine. Florida's officials petitioned for replacements from Havana and the Crown responded "considering the need existing in Florida for such negroes and the necessity of preserving (sovereignty in) that land," Havana should send as many slaves as it could, "so that for lack of them, royal service does not cease." The Crown suggested

5 Spanish missionaries also made culturally inappropriate demands such as forcing caciques to bear burdens or noble women to provide domestic service in Spanish homes. Priests further angered the Florida natives by trying to curtail polygamy, drinking festivals, rough ball games, or other ceremonial traditions. Spanish attempts to alter political succession and inheritance also led to conflict. See John H. Hann, *Apalachee: The Land between the Rivers* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1988); Bonnie G. McEwan, ed., *The Spanish Missions of La Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), ch. 1; Bonnie G. McEwan, ed., *Indians of the Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), ch. 1-3; Amy Turner Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida* (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1994).

Spain's southwestern frontiers were in turmoil for many of the same reasons: interventions in the religious and political lives of villagers, work demands, and abuse and insults of native leaders. The Pueblos, for example, revolted repeatedly—in 1632, 1639-40, 1644, 1647, 1650 and 1680. See David J. Weber, ed., *What Caused the Pueblo Revolt of 1680?* (Boston: Bedford/ St. Martin's Press, 1999); Susan M. Deeds, "First-Generation Rebellions in Seventeenth-Century Nueva Vizcaya," in *Native Resistance and the Pax Colonial in New Spain*, ed. Susan Schroeder (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); and David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 122, 133-135.

6 Miguel de Ybarra to the Crown, 1603, 54-5-9/47, Stetson Collection (hereafter cited as SC), P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, FL, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain (hereafter cited as AGI).

Havana provide thirty men of working age to cut and saw timber for fort and ship repairs, and six women to cook and care for the men in illness. It also noted that Florida's entire *situado* would not suffice if wages had to be paid for their tasks.⁷ Then, in mid-century, more epidemics struck Florida—typhus or yellow fever in 1649, smallpox in 1654, and measles in 1659—taking a harsh toll on St. Augustine's population, killing many government officials and all the royal slaves.

The combined effect of these plague years was a dramatic decline in the native population in Florida, similar to that experienced in contemporary New Spain and Peru. The interior of the Florida peninsula was left almost vacant and records describe this as "the starving time."⁸ The colony's distress finally led the Crown to accede to major land grants and to the introduction of cattle. In 1645 Florida's governor established a wheat ranch near present-day Tallahassee where, as Bonnie McEwan's essays describe, Apalachee Indians had been re-settled into the mission village of San Luis de Talimali.⁹ Such operations made the colony somewhat more self-sufficient, but locating ranches and farms in the midst of Indian lands only increased native complaints against the Spaniards: the Guale nation rebelled in 1645, the Apalachees in 1647, the Timucucans in 1656 and the Apalachicolas in 1675 and 1681.¹⁰

7 King to Sancho de Alquíla, Captain General of Cuba, April 9, 1618, Santo Domingo (hereafter cited as SD) 225, AGI. Florida's governor complained in 1624 that this order had still not been carried out and he repeated the request. The Council of the Indies reprimanded Cuba's Captain General and again ordered him to comply. See Don Luis de Rojas y Borja to the King, May 7, 1624 and Order of the Council of the Indies, May 9, 1624, SD 225, AGI. In the first half of the seventeenth century blacks made up 45% of the population of Cuba, so scarcity was not the problem. See Isabelo Macías Domínguez, *Cuba en la primera mitad del siglo XVII* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1978), 34.

8 Amy Bushnell, "The Menéndez Márquez Cattle Barony at La Chua and the Determinants of Economic Expansion in Seventeenth-Century Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 56, no. 4 (April 1978), 419.

9 Lynch argued that Spain's recession stimulated local industry and inner-colonial trade in some areas of the Americas. See John Lynch, *The Hispanic World in Crisis and Change, 1598-1700* (revised edition of *Spain under the Hapsburgs*) (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992). Murdo MacLeod also describes pockets of economic growth in the seventeenth-century colonies such as textiles in Puebla and Quito, cacao in Venezuela, shipbuilding in Veracruz, and sugar in Mexico. See Murdo J. MacLeod, "Spain and America: The Atlantic Trade, 1492-1720," in *Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 341-388.

10 John H. Hann, *Apalachee*.

La Florida's officials struggled to control the serial native rebellions with little metropolitan assistance while beleaguered Spain battled French, Dutch, and English challengers in "the Spanish Lake." As noted, the drain of European wars, metropolitan bankruptcies, depopulation in both the metropolis and the colonies, and declining mineral revenues had left Spain unable to adequately provision or defend its American colonies or silver fleets from foreign encroachment. In 1628, Dutch corsair Piet Heyn captured the New Spain treasure fleet (which included the Florida and Havana *situados*). With the proceeds from this haul, the Dutch West India Company financed the conquest of Curaçao in 1634.¹¹ By mid-century, French smugglers and buccaneers had also converted the western portion of Hispaniola into a French colony. The French also occupied Tortuga, which became a buccaneers' stronghold.¹² And in 1655 the English took Jamaica as part of Oliver Cromwell's great Western Design.¹³ Spain's enemies now held economic and military bases from which to attack Spanish fleets and settlements. Soon Port Royal became a flourishing hub of contraband Spanish trade in slaves and manufactured goods, for which the Spaniards paid in bullion. Pirates and privateers found opportunity in this circum-Caribbean chaos and the dramatic attack on St. Augustine by Robert Searles in 1668 is described by Diana Reigelsperger in this volume. The Treaty of Madrid signed by Spain and England in 1670 was supposed to end piracy and privateering, but Jamaica's governors were themselves complicit in the ongoing business.¹⁴

The violence originating in Caribbean contests was only exacerbated in 1669 when Barbadian planters, already hostile to

- 11 The Dutch had already occupied St. Eustatius in 1630. See Cornelius C. Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and on the Coast, 1580-1689* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1971).
- 12 Kris. E. Lane, *Pillaging the Empire: Piracy in the Americas, 1500-1750* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1998), 96-129.
- 13 The English had already seized St. Kitts and Nevis in 1624, Barbados in 1627, and Antigua and Montserrat in 1632. See Lane, 67, 96; Francisco Morales Padrón, *Spanish Jamaica* (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randall Publishers, 2003); Irene Aloha Wright, trans., Julian de Castilla, *The English conquest of Jamaica; an account of what happened in the island of Jamaica, from May 20 of the year 1655, when the English laid siege to it, up to July 3 of the year 1656* (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1923).
- 14 Nuala Zahedieh, "The Merchants of Port Royal, Jamaica and the Spanish Contraband Trade, 1655-1692," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser. 43, no. 4 (October 1986): 570-593; Lane.

Spain, established a new colony at Charles Town, "but ten days journey" from St. Augustine. The new English (and later Scottish) colonizers staked their claim in land Spain also claimed, further destabilizing the geopolitics of the Southeast; the region's diverse Indian nations were now caught up in a terrible contest that would ruin most of them.¹⁵ St. Augustine's royal treasurer, don Juan Menéndez Márquez commanded a small flotilla of three ships and fourteen piraguas that attempted to eject the "usurpers" but was undone by a storm.¹⁶ The 1670 Treaty of Madrid finally recognized England's existing settlements and promised peace thereafter, but another century of conflict ensued over the so-called "debatable lands."¹⁷

In response to ongoing piracy and foreign territorial encroachment, the Spanish Crown belatedly embarked on a major effort to fortify its Caribbean ports. African masonry and metalworking skills eventually helped erect great stone forts at Havana, Santo Domingo, San Juan, Cartagena, Portobelo, and Acapulco, as well as many minor constructions in lesser ports along the threatened coasts. St. Augustine's massive stone fort, the Castillo de San Marcos, was begun in 1672 and Susan Parker's essay illustrates its economic benefits for the struggling community.¹⁸

As construction on the Castillo dragged on, the ensuing Anglo/Spanish hostilities triggered waves of migration, raids, and counter-raids all along the Atlantic coast, engulfing indigenous groups and African slaves in imperial contests for control of the

- 15 See Steven C. Hahn, "The Mother of Necessity: Carolina, the Creeks, and the Making of a New Order in the Southeast, 1670-1763," in *The Transformation of the Southeastern Indians, 1540-1760*, ed. Robbie Ethridge and Charles Hudson (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002); Steven. J. Oatis, *A Colonial Complex, South Carolina's Frontiers in the Era of the Yamasee War, 1680-1730* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004); William L. Ramsey, *The Yamasee War: A Study of Culture, Economy, and Conflict in the Colonial South* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008).
- 16 John E. Worth, *The Struggle for the Georgia Coast: An Eighteenth-Century Spanish Retrospective on Guale and Mocama* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 181.
- 17 Herbert E. Bolton and Mary Ross, *The Debatable Land: A Sketch of the Anglo-Spanish Contest for the Georgia Country*, Reprint. (New York: Russell and Russell, 1968). See also Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (New York, Norton, 1981), 6-10.
- 18 The same year another epidemic decimated the Indian laborers. See Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana*, 136-142; Luis Rafael Arana and Albert Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos* (St. Augustine: Eastern National, 1977).

Southeast.¹⁹ The Carolinians embarked upon a campaign to win over any indigenous groups living near them, and to enslave any living beyond their immediate trading zone.²⁰ They incited and armed the Yamasee Indians to attack the chain of Spanish missions of Guale, along the Georgia coast, beginning with its administrative headquarters at St. Catherine's Island.²¹ In the early months of 1685, several thousand Yamasee accompanied by "3 nations of the Spanish Indians that are Christians, Sapella, Soho, and Sapicbay" relocated from St. Augustine to lands they formerly held along the coast, such as the Pocotaligo, on St. Helena.²² Unable to defend their Christian charges, the Spaniards tried to relocate them southward to Santa María on Amelia Island, but some revolted and fled instead to the interior and an English alliance.²³

Defense proved a chronic problem in the struggling community of St. Augustine and the garrison was chronically undermanned. By 1681, and despite his documented distrust of people of color, Governor Juan Márquez Cabrera followed the lead of other circum-Caribbean governors and formed an infantry unit of free *pardo*

- 19 Bolton and Ross, 28-44; J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *The Only Land They Knew: American Indians in the Old South* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), chaps. 5 and 6.
- 20 Alan Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002); Christina Snyder, *Slavery in Indian Country: The Changing Face of Captivity in Early America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).
- 21 David Hurst Thomas, "The Archaeology of Mission Santa Catalina de Guale: Our First 15 Years," in *Spanish Missions of Florida*, ed. Bonnie G McEwan, 1-34.
- 22 On January 10, 1685 Lord Cardross (Henry Erskine) wrote the Lords Proprietors, "Wee thought fitt to acquaint you that yesterday some more of the nation of the Yamasees arrived at St. Helena to settle with those of their nation formerly settled there having come from about St. Augustine." See Sainsbury Transcripts, 1928-1947, vol. 2:1, cited in William Green, Chester De Pratter and Bobby Southerlin, "The Yamasee in South Carolina: Native American Adaptation and Interaction along the Carolina Frontier," in *Another's Country: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on Cultural Interactions in the Southern Colonies*, ed. J. W. Joseph and Martha Zierden (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002), 13-29. In February of 1685 the Indian trader Caleb Westbrooke reported that over 1000 Yamasees, accompanied by unnumbered "Christian" Indians, had arrived from the Lower Creek region. See Sainsbury Transcripts, 1928-1947, vol. 2:8-9, cited in *Ibid.*
- 23 Rebecca Saunders, "Architecture of the Missions of Santa María and Santa Catalina de Amelia," in Bonnie G. McEwan, ed., *Spanish Missions of Florida*, 35-61.

(mulatto) and *moreno* (black) militia to augment the Spanish unit.²⁴ A 1683 roster of the forty-two men and six officers who composed this unit offers little more than names although Corporal Crispin DeTapia is known from other sources to have been a free mulatto who managed a store in St. Augustine and eventually held the rank of Captain in his unit. The black militia members swore before God and the Cross their willingness to serve the King. While their pledge may have been formulaic, it was also an effort to define their status as members of the religious and civil community, and as vassals of a King from whom they might expect protection or patronage in exchange for armed service.²⁵

St. Augustine's black militiamen proved themselves over the next decade as Indian raids and pirate activity continued unabated.²⁶ In May 1686 they helped defend St. Augustine against the attack of the French pirate Nicholas, Sieur de Grammont (Agramón in Spanish documents). Grammont was on his way back

- 24 Luis Arana, "Military Organization in Florida, 1671-1702," in *The Military and Militia in Colonial Spanish America*, (St. Augustine, FL: Department of Military Affairs, Florida National Guard, n.d.):11-22. On the history of black military service in the Spanish circum-Caribbean see Jane Landers, "Transforming Bondsmen into Vassals: Arming the Slaves in Colonial Spanish America," in *Arming Slaves in World History*, ed. Philip Morgan and Christopher Brown (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 120-145; and Paul Lokken, "Useful Enemies: Seventeenth-Century Piracy and the Rise of Pardo Militias in Spanish Central America," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 5, no. 2 (2004): 1-18.
- 25 Roster of Black and Mulatto Militia for St. Augustine, Sept. 20, 1683, SD 266, legajo 157A, AGI. Both Márquez Cabrera and his predecessor complained frequently that the troops provided from New Spain in the 1670s were "sons of blacks, *chinos* (persons of mixed race), and mulattoes," "only good for work as cobblers, tailors, carpenters, blacksmiths, and cattle hands." See Luis Arana, "Military Manpower in Florida, 1670-1703," *El Escribano* 8, no. 2 (1971): 40-63.
- 26 In March 1683 French privateer Abraham Briac led a force of 300 French and English privateers collected at New Providence Island in the Bahamas in a failed attack on St. Augustine. The Spanish in Havana retaliated with an attack on New Providence. The following year, Captain Thomas Jingle led a force of eleven vessels from New Providence to Apalachee Bay, from whence they headed to St. Augustine. Black cowboys alerted Spanish officials when some of the English pirates made landfall to look for food. The rope with which one of the captured pirates was being garoted snapped and Franciscan priests sheltered him as proof of God's miracle. Ironically, Andrew Ranson, who despite being a pirate also had carpentry and engineering skills, was later assigned to labor on the ongoing construction of the Castillo. See Luis Arana, "Pirates March on St. Augustine, 1683," *Defenses and Defenders at St. Augustine, El Escribano* 36 (1999): 64-72; and J. Leitch Wright, Jr., "Andrew Ranson: Seventeenth Century Pirate?" *Florida Historical Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (October 1960): 135-144.

to the Caribbean after selling slaves captured in Campeche to the ever-desirous planters of San Jorge (present-day Charleston). After several days of pitched battles, only two of his crew survived Grammont's second raid on St. Augustine, and both were men of color. Diego and a mulatto translator named Thomas were finally captured after "heathen" natives killed the rest.²⁷

The London proprietors held the Carolinians themselves responsible for the hostilities saying ". . . it is because those of Carolina notwithstanding the Kings comands (sic) and our own repeated orders to the contrary have reced (sic) the pyrates (sic) and privateers that have unjustly burnt and robbed the houses of the Spanyards (sic)." They refused to sanction any designs the Carolinians had on St. Augustine, allowing only that, if invaded, the Carolinians could defend themselves.²⁸ This did not deter the Carolinians, who began to mount an invasion against St. Augustine only to be stopped at the last moment by the arrival in Charles Town of the new governor, James Colleton, who was more interested in trade with the Spaniards than in retaliation. A follow-up letter from the proprietors reminded that the Spaniards had acted ". . . in Revenge of those Indians (Yamasee) falling upon, and plundering some Spanish settlements . . ." and warned ". . . it is not to be expected that the Spanyards should ever let you live peaceably by them if they are soe provoked."²⁹ Later that year, some fifty Yamasees from St. Helena raided the Christian Timucuan village of Santa Catalina de Afuica, on St. Catherine's Island, killing eighteen

27 Diego testified that he was born in Tortuga and as a young man grew tobacco, which he traded to the buccaneers frequenting the island north of the Hispaniola coast. Perhaps inspired by his customers, Diego also took up a career in piracy, joining the French corsair named "Sanbo" who sailed for the Mosquito Coast. Diego caught turtles for the crew and participated in the capture of two Spanish prizes from Cartagena, thereby earning a share of the take. Later he joined a Captain Cahrebon on a second corsairing expedition to Cartagena, where he cut wood for some time before canoeing back to the Mosquito Coast. See Interrogation of the black corsair, Diego, by Governor Don Juan Marques de Cabrera, St. Augustine, Florida, 1686, in the John Tate Lanning papers, 13-18. The mulatto translator, Thomas, had also participated in the 1683 attack on St. Augustine. I am indebted to John H. Hann for this reference and his generosity over the years. For more on the 1686 raid see Luis Arana, "Grammont's Landing at Little Matanzas Inlet, 1686," *El Escribano* (July 1972), 107-113.

28 Earl of Craven et. al. to James Colleton, March 3, 1686, *Records of the British Public Record Office Relating to South Carolina, 1663-1782*, ed. A.S. Salley (Atlanta and Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1928-1947), 184-188.

29 Craven et. al to the Grand Council, Oct. 10, 1687, *Ibid.*, 221-228.

people and taking twenty-five others as slaves back to Carolina. As an added insult, the former Christian converts also brought back church ornaments from the ruined Spanish missions.³⁰

In response, a Spanish raiding party consisting of fifty-three unnamed Indians and blacks attacked the English settlements. On this occasion, as on others, the black militiamen were significant for their linguistic and cultural abilities, their knowledge of the frontier, and their military skills.³¹ They hit Governor Joseph Morton's plantation on Edisto Island, carrying away "money and plate and thirteen slaves to the value of [£] 1500" before turning southward to burn down the Scottish settlement at Port Royal on their way home to St. Augustine. The party also returned with the mission ornaments stolen by the Yamasees the previous year.³²

The repeated cross-currents of raids and migrations across the Southeast acquainted many blacks and Indians with the routes to St. Augustine, as well as with the enmity existing between the English and Spanish colonies. In 1687 eight black men, two women, and a nursing child arrived at St. Augustine in a stolen canoe and requested baptism into the "True Faith."³³ They may have known of the protections and opportunities the Catholic Church offered, possibly even manipulating confessional politics to their own advantage in making a shared request for religious sanctuary.³⁴ As required of a good Christian ruler, the Spanish

30 Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 146-171.

31 Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1974), 95-130.

32 Morton's stolen slaves included Peter, Scipio, Doctor, Cushi, Arro, Emo, Caesar, and Sambo. The women were Frank, Bess, and Mammy. See J. G. Dunlap, "William Dunlop's Mission to St. Augustine in 1688," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 34 (January 1933): 1-30. Two of the thirteen captured slaves escaped the Spaniards and returned to their English masters. See Crane, 31-33; Wood, 50; Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 146-171; Edward Randolph to the Board of Trade, March 16, 1699, *Records of the British Public Record Office*, 88-95.

33 Dunlap, 1-30. Given the multi-cultural nature of the Gambia region, and early missionary reports of Portuguese-speaking slaves in Carolina, it is quite possible that some of the runaways reaching Florida had already been exposed to Roman Catholicism. On Catholicism in Kongo see Linda M. Heywood and John K. Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Making of the Foundations of the Americas, 1585-1660* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

34 Among the acts of charity that a good Catholic was urged to perform was to offer protection to the miserable and to shelter fugitives. See Maureen Flynn, "Charitable Ritual in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain," *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 16 (Fall 1995): 1-30.

governor, Diego de Quiroga, saw to the African runaways' Catholic instruction, baptism, and marriage, and refused to return them to Captain William Dunlop, the Carolina Indian trader who arrived from Carolina to recover them the following year.³⁵

Spanish officials recorded new groups of runaways being received in St. Augustine in 1688, 1689, and 1690. Unsure about how to handle the refugees, St. Augustine's officials repeatedly solicited Spain for guidance and finally, on November 7, 1693, Charles II issued a royal proclamation "giving *liberty to all ... the men as well as the women ... so that by their example and by my liberality* others will do the same."³⁶ The enslaved men and women who risked their lives to become free thus triggered a major policy revision at the Spanish court that would shape the geopolitics of the Southeast and the Caribbean for the next century.³⁷ In subsequent negotiations, the newly arrived governor of Carolina, James Colleton, demanded the return of the stolen slaves as well as "those who run daily into your towns."³⁸ This was, no doubt, an exaggeration, however the slave flights from Carolina (and later, Georgia) continued through the rest of the first Spanish period in Florida (1565-1763) and as Indian rebellion and piracy both waned, became the primary source of conflict between the Spanish and English in the Southeast.³⁹

The Historical Archaeology of Seventeenth-Century La Florida

by Bonnie G. McEwan

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, St. Augustine was still recovering from Francis Drake's 1586 raid during which the town and fields were ravaged.¹ Officials were also evaluating the fallout from the 1597 Guale Rebellion during which four of the five friars working among the native peoples were killed,² and rebuilding the town following a devastating fire in 1599. If not for St. Augustine's strategic location and perceived progress in the religious conversion of natives, Florida might well have been abandoned at the turn of the century.³ As it turned out, the next century would be the period of Spain's most extensive presence in La Florida.

This essay is intended to highlight some of the most significant archaeological research relevant to this period and direct readers to the pertinent literature. These studies cover a broad range of

35 The Spanish governor also took advantage of their artisanal skills, assigning the men to work as ironsmiths and laborers on the Castillo de San Marcos. The women became domestics in the governor's own household and he claimed to have paid all of them wages; the men earning a peso a day, the wage paid to male Indian laborers, and the women earning half as much. Royal officials to Charles II, March 3, 1699, cited in Irene Wright, "Dispatches of Spanish Officials Bearing on the Free Negro Settlement of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose," *Journal of Negro History* 9 (1924): 151-152.

36 Royal decree, Nov. 7, 1693, SD 58-1-26, SC, PKY.

37 Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), ch.2.

38 Letter from Mr. Randolph to the Board, June 28, 1699 in *Records of the British Public Records Office*, 4:89.

39 Landers, *Black Society*, ch. 3.

Bonnie G. McEwan is the Director of Research at Mission San Luis in Tallahassee, Florida. She is the author of *The Spanish Missions of La Florida* (1993) and *Indians of the Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory* (2003).

1 James W. Covington, "Drake Destroys St. Augustine," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 44, nos. 1-2 (July 1965): 81-93.

2 Amy Turner Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida* (New York: American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers 74, 1994), 65-66; See also J. Michael Francis and Kathleen M. Kole, *Murder and Martyrdom in Spanish Florida: Don Juan and the Guale Uprising of 1597* (New York: American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers 95, 2011).

3 See also Charles Arnade, *Florida on Trial* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Institute of Hispanic Studies Publications, 1959).